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Japan Report

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JAPAN REPORT

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MILITARY

PUBLIC CONSENSUS ON SELF-DEFENSE FORCES, DEFENSE ISSUES CONDUCTED

Tokyo BOEI ANTENA in Japanese Aug 85 pp 2-36

[Opinion poll taken by prime minister's office]

[Text] Introduction

The national consensus on defense supports the defense capability and is a foundation for enabling defense capability to function effectively. Without this consensus, there is no national defense. For this purpose it is necessary not only to pay attention to the trend of the people's awareness but to also seek widespread understanding of the people in promoting the defense policy.

In November 1984, a "public opinion survey on the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the defense issue" was conducted by the information office of the prime minister's secretariat.

The opinion poll conducted by the information office is a kind of a public hearing to understand the thinking of the people scientifically from an impartial standpoint. Including this one, there have been altogether 21 surveys conducted since 1955. The results are valuable in understanding the people's awareness on the defense issue at that particular period and also in understanding the change in the people's consciousness in each time series.

- I. Outline of the Survey
- 1. Subject of the Survey
- A. Population: Individuals over 20 years of age throughout the country
- B. Number: 3,000
- C. Sampling method: Sub-stratified random sampling
- 2. Period of Survey: 7 November-13 November 1984
- 3. Method of Survey: Interview by poll-takers
- 4. Organization Under Assignment to Conduct the Poll: New Information Center, Inc.

- Result of the Collection
- A. Number of Valid Samples: 2,424 (collection rate 80.8 percent)
- B. Number of those who were not available for the survey: 576 (moved, long-term absence, temporary absence, address unknown, refusal, others)

List of Questions

```
Question 1: Level of contact with the military unit
Question 2: Level of interest in the SDF and the defense issue
Question 3: Frequency of getting reports on the SDF and the defense issue
Question 4: Matters that the people want to know about the SDF and the defense
              issue
              Impressions of the SDF-Overall impression
Question 5:
Question 6: Impressions of the SDF-Discipline
Question 7:
              Impressions of the SDF-How easy to become friendly
Question 8:
              Impressions of the SDF-Reliability
Question 9:
              Impressions of the SDF-things to be valued in the future
Question 10:
              Number one objective for establishing the SDF
Question 11:
              In what aspect have the SDF been most useful so far?
              What should the SDF emphasize in the future?
Question 12:
Question 13:
              Is it better to have the SDF?
              Supplementary Question 1: Reasons For
              Supplementary Question 2: Reasons Against
Question 14:
              The scale of the defense strength-Ground SDF
Question 15:
              The scale of the defense strength-Maritime SDF
Question 16:
              The scale of the defense strength-Air SDF
Question 17:
              The size of the Defense Budget
Question 18:
              Is the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty useful?
Question 19:
              The condition of Japan's defense
Question 20:
              Feeling for defending the country
Question 21:
              Necessity to take up the cause for natural defense in education?
              Supplementary Question: Reasons for not seeing the need for it
Question 22:
             Danger of being drawn into a war
              Supplementary Question 1:
                                        Reasons for thinking that there is
                                        danger?
              Supplementary Question 2:
                                        Reasons for thinking that there is no
                                        danger?
Question 23:
             What would you do in the event that Japan is invaded?
Question 24:
             Considering the peace and security of Japan, what concerns you?
Question 25:
             How often do you come across the SDF recruitment advertisement?
             Supplementary Question: What kind of advertisements have you seen?
Question 26:
             Pros and cons of your close acquaintance's applying for the SDF.
             Supplementary Question 1: Reasons for [supporting it. Support if
                                        you are to choose one]
             Supplementary Question 2: Reason for [opposing it. Against if
```

you are to choose onel

II. Special Features of Survey Results

Generally, the results of the present survey are the same as the one that was conducted previously in 1981, with only slight numerical changes.

Of the results, the principal features are the following five items:

- (1) On the need for the SDF, this time again, 83 percent of the people responded that "it is better to have SDF." Thus it should be viewed that the rate of support for the SDF is settled at above the 80 percent level.
- (2) On the SDF and the defense issue, as before, there exists an uninterested stratum of many people, as evidenced in the survey: about 48 percent of the respondents said that they were not particularly interested ("not particularly interested" + "not interested at all").
- (3) On the understanding of the SDF, for the first time, more than 60 percent of the respondents considered the primary objective of establishing the SDF to be "ensuring national security." It should be taken to mean that the people's understanding of the SDF is progressively improving.
- (4) On the question of the Japan-U.S. Security System, about 71 percent of the respondents believe that the system is "useful for the peace and security of Japan." For the first time, it has reached above 70 percent mark. Thus, it should be viewed that the level of appraisal for the Japan-U.S. security system has risen.
- (5) On the size of the defense budget and the scales of the ground, maritime, and air SDF, those who want to see the maintenance of a status quo have increased.

Figure 1. Necessity of the SDF

- 1. necessary
- 2. don't know
- unnecessary
- . 4. 1972
- 5. Note: 1977 survey was conducted by the Defense Agency (hereafter same)
- decimal points are rounded to the nearest whole number (hereafter same)

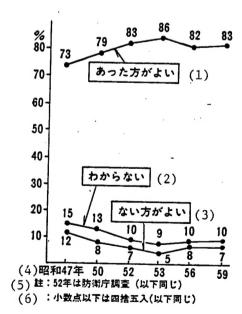


Figure 2. Interest in SDF and Defense Issue

Key:

- 1. No particular interest
- 2. A little interested
- 3. Very much interested
- 4. Not interested at all
- 5. 1977

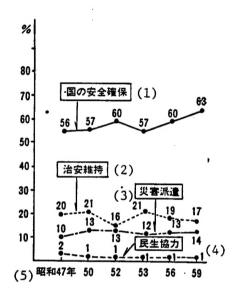


Figure 4. Appraisal of the Japan-U.S. Security System

- 1. Useful ("useful" + "useful if
 choice is to be made")
- 2. Not useful ("not useful" + "not useful if choice to be made")
- 3. Don't know
- 4. 1977

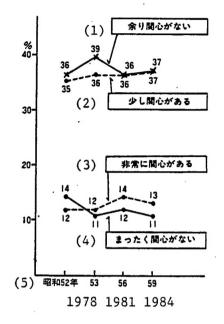
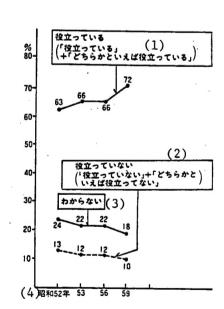


Figure 3. The Purpose for Creating

← the SDF

Key:

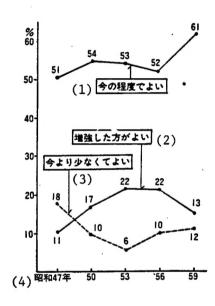
- 1. To ensure national security
- 2. To maintain law and order
- 3. To dispatch to areas of disaster
- 4. To cooperate in public welfare work
- 5. 1972



Graph 5-1. Increase and Decrease in the Defense Budget

Key:

- 1. Present level
- 2. Don't know
- 3. Want it reduced from the present
- 4. Want it increased
- 5. 1972



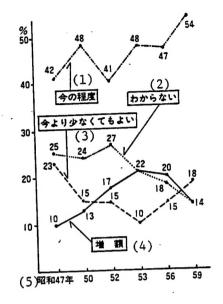


Figure 5-2. Size of the SDF (Land SDF)
←

Key:

- 1. Present level
- 2. Want it increased
- Want it reduced from the present level
- 4. 1972

III. Summary of the Results (The numerical figures that indicate the survey results represent the percentage unless otherwise specified)

Interest in the SDF and the Defense Issue

Level of Contact

Question 1: Have you ever actually made educational tours to see or watched the SDF units, their exercises, or their parades?

Response	<u>Total</u>	11 Metropolis	Other Cities	Towns and Villages	Male	Female
Yes	17.6	10.2	19.3	19.4		13.2
No	82.4	89.8	80.7	80.6		86.8

Those who have actually observed (watched) the SDF units or their exercises reach 17.6 percent. The level of contact with the SDF units among those who live in large urban areas and among females is rather low.

Level of Interest

Question: Do you take an interest in the SDF and the defense issue? Which of the following do you choose?

Don't know	No interest at all	No particular interest	Not interested	A little interested	Very much interested	Interested	Response			
1.9	10. 9	36. 9	47. 8	36. 9	13. 4	50. 3	総	数	Total	
0.7	6. 3	27. 0	33. 3	43. 3	22. 7	66. 0	男し	性	Male 2	×
2. 9	14.7	45. 1	59. 8	31.6	5. 7	37. 4	★ ∫	別	Female 3	Sex
1.0	13. 8	47. 7	61. 5	32. 2	5. 3	37. 5	20 歳	代	20's	
1.4	10.8	42.0	52. 8	38. 2	7. 5	45. 8	30 歳	代	30's	
1.3	9. 5	38. 1	47. 8	38. 7 _.	12. 4	51. 1	40 歳	Ħ	40's °	a)
2. 2	9. 8	33. 3	43. 1	38. 6	16. 1	54. 7	50 歳	代	50's	Age
3. 3	11. 9	27. 2	39. 0	34. 8	22. 9	57. 7	60歳以	上	Over 60	

The degree of interest in the question of the SDF and the defense issue interested was surveyed; 50.3 percent of the respondents said that they were interested (13.4 percent said "very much interested" + 36.9 percent said "a little interested"). On the other hand, 47.8 percent of those said they had "no interest" (36.9 percent said "no particular interest" + "not interested at all"). This constitutes about half.

As compared with previous survey results, the present survey results do not show much change.

Of those who responded "interested," by sex, the number of males, with 66.0 percent, has increased far more than that of the females, with 37.4 percent. By age, the older the respondents, the more interest was shown.

Reports on the SDF and the Defense Issue

Question 3: Do you often, occasionally, or seldom come across news reports on the SDF and the defense issue in your everyday reading of newspapers or magazines, or in watching television?

```
Very seldom
              Very often
                    Response
1.2 17.9 58.3 24.8 総
                               Total number
                               Subtotal
0.4 8.9 53.9 36.9 小
                               20's
0.8 14.7 61.2 23.3 20 歳代
                               30's
 - 10.5 60.9 28.6 30 歳代
                               40's
 一 8.1 60.2 31.8 40 歳代
                               50's
0.9 5.7 46.7 46.7 50 歳代
                               Above 60
0.4 8.4 45.6 45.6 60歳以上
1.8 25.4 58.3 14.5 小
                               Subtotal
                               20's
 一 30.3 60.0 9.7 20 歳代
                               30's
1.2 20.2 65.3 13.4 30 歳代
                               40's
1.6 22.4 57.7 18.3 40 歳代
                               50's
2.3 28.9 55.9 12.9 50 歳代
                               Above 60
3.8 29.0 50.8 16.4 60歳以上
```

On the frequency of seeing or reading reports on the SDF and the defense question, usually in the newspapers, on television, and in magazines, although there is a degree of difference, a large number, 81 percent, of the respondents said that they "come across" these reports. (25 percent said "very often" + 56 percent said "once in a while"). As compared with the previous survey, those who responded that they have seen the reports have increased. (It was 77 percent previously.)

By age and sex, many of those who "see the news" are found among the older males. They are few among the females.

Want to Know

Question 4. What kinds of things do you want to know about the SDF or the defense question? Please indicate two or three from the following (multiple responses).

```
and details of Japan's defense
                                              and manage-
                          of the Japan-U.S. Security
             Military situations around Japan
                                                     of defense in
                                 of
                                                                  Problems in defending Japan
                                                            Defense capability of the
                                of thinking
                                              Organization, equipment, ment of the SDF
                                        Japan's Defense Policy
Don't have/Don't know
                                                     Actual conditions
                                                        other countries
                                Life and way
                                                                          Response
                          Set up
Treaty
                                    members
                       budget
       0.1 16.7 9.4 14.4
                                14.0 19.0
                                                                                       December 1978 Survey
34.6 0.3 19.1 10.2 14.5 10.7 17.4 10.7 10.6 25.7 21.2
                                                                                      December 1981 Survey
34.9 0.6 21.8 11.9 12.8 10.5 18.7 10.4 10.3 25.5 20.6
                                                                                      December 1984 Survey
21.3 0.8 26.5 13.8 13.9 10.7 24.5 13.0 14.1 34.8 25.7
                                                                                      by Sex
46.3 0.4 18.0 10.3 11.8 10.3 14.0 8.2 7.2 17.8 Female
28.3 0.7 20.7 17.4 13.5 12.2 19.7 14.1 11.8 25.7 19.7 20 歳代
30.9 0.9 23.9 14.4 14.0 10.4 18.5 12.2 11.8 27.1 21.2 30 蒙代
                                                                                      30's
30.5 0.4 26.1 10.6 14.2 12.8 21.2 10.4 12.4 27.0 22.4 40 歳代
                                                                                      40's
37.8 0.4 19.3 12.2 14.2 11.2 16.9 10.0 8.9 24.6 18.5 50 蒙代
                                                                                      50's
45.1 0.6 18.2 7.3 8.2 6.5 17.6 6.5 6.9 23.1 20.7 60歳以上
                                                                                      over 60.
```

On the SDF and the defense, they were asked what there was that they wanted to know. More prominent responses were: "the defense capability of the SDF" (25.5 percent), "the military situation around Japan" (21.8 percent), "the problem areas of Japan's defense" (20.6 percent), "Japan's defense policy" (18.7 percent), "the set up of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty" (12.8 percent). (Multiple responses)

Impression of the SDF

Overall Impression

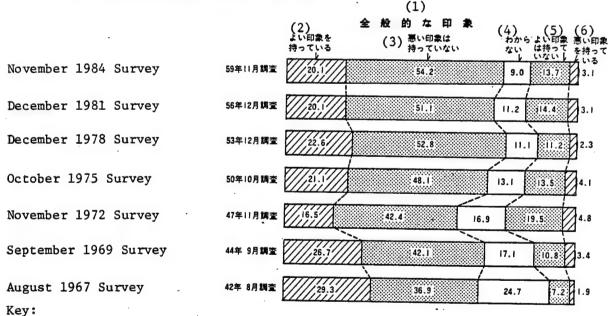
Question 5. Are you generally favorably impressed by the SDF, or do you have a bad impression of it?

When they were asked about their overall impressions of the SDF, the majority, 54.2 percent, responded that they "do not have a bad impression," 20.1 percent was "favorably impressed," 13.7 percent was "not favorably impressed," and 3.1 percent had "a bad impression of it." When those who have a "favorable impression" and those who "do not have a bad impression" are combined, they constitute 74.3 percent.

impression a bad impression Do not have Do not have impression Response Total 3.1 13.7 54.2 20.1 総 6.4 2.5 12.4 53.9 24.8 男 Male 11.2 3.5 14.7 54.4 16.2 女 Female 6.6 6.3 24.0 55.6 7.6 20 歳代 20's 7.5 4.7 16.0 58.0 13.8 30 歳代 30's 10.2 2.4 13.1 57.3 17.0 40 歳代 40's 7.9 1.8 9.8 52.4 28.0 50 歳代 50's 11.7 1.3 9.4 47.6 30.0 60歳以上 Over 60

As compared with the results of previous surveys since 1967, the proportion of those who responded that they "do not have a bad impression" has increased year-by-year.

By age, the older the group, the more of them have a "favorable impression." The younger the group, the more of them are "unfavorably impressed" or "have a bad impression."



- 1. Overall Impression
- 2. Have a good impression
- 3. Do not have a bad impression
- 4. Don't know

- 5. Do not have a good impression
- 6. Have a bad impression

Discipline

Question 6: We would like to know your impression of the SDF. What do you think of the discipline of the SDF. Do you think they are well disciplined or not? Which of the following do you believe?

(1)	(•			(6)							
わ	規律	正しく	ない	規	津正 し	V	,	=				
か	全	ぁ	小	割	非	小		回答				
らな		Ī		合	常			項				
		ŋ	Ħ	12	E	Ħ		目 11 ())·			
	(3)	(1.	(5)	(7)	(9)	(0)	`		,			
20. 2			16. 8				総		数	Total		
13. 1	2. 1	17.6	19.7	51.9	15. 4	67.2	男)	性	Male	?	Sex
26. 0	0.6	13. 5	14.1	46.1	13.7	59.8	女	Ì	別	Femal	e S	X
22. 0	2. 3	16. 1	18. 4	49.0	10.5	59.5	20	歳	代	20's		
20.8	1.4	15. 1	16.5	51.3	11.3	62.7	30	歳	Ħ	30's		
19. 2	1.5	14.6	16.1	51.1	13.7	64.8	40	蔵	代	40's		
16.9	1.2	13. 0	14.2	50.2	18.7	68. 9	50	歳	代	50's		
22. 6	0.4	18. 2	18.5	41.9	17.0	58. 9	60克	茂以	上	Over	60	

Key:

- 1. Don't know
- 2. Not well disciplined
- 3. Not at all
- 4. Not much
- 5. Sub Total
- 6. Well disciplined
- 7. Relatively
- 8. Very much
- 9. Sub Total
- 10. Response

Friendliness

Question 6: What do you think of their friendliness: Please pick from the following:
(1) わ 親しみやすく カルスキャン (10)

- 1. Don't know
- 2. Not easy to become friendly
- 3. Difficult to become friendly
- 4. Not particularly
- 5. Subtotal
- 6. Easy to become friendly
- 7. Relatively
- 8. Very much
- 9. Subtotal
- 10. Response

)	わからない	ない親しみにく	あまり	小 計	割合に	非常に	小計	(過答項目)	•
	16.7	(3)	(4) 40.8	(5) 55. 2	23.7	(8) 4.4	(9) 28. 1	総	数	Total
	12.5	11.7	39. 9	51.7	30.1	5.7	35. 9	男 】	性	Male } §
	20.3	16.5	41.5	58. 0	18.4	3. 2	21.7	女 5	別	Female) X
	12.8	24.7	51.3	76. 0	10.9	0.3	11.2	20 歳	代	20's
	15.4	19.7	47.8	67.5	14.5	2.5	17.1	30 歳	代	30's
	15.0	12.0	43. 1	55. 1	26.8	3. 1	29. 9	40 歳	Ħ	40's
	17.7	10.2	34.8	44.9	29.7	7.7	37.4	50 歳	H	50 ' s
	21.4	9.0	30.6	39. 6	32.1	6. 9	39. 0	60歳以	上	over 60

Reliability

Question 8: On the aspect of reliability, what is your view? Please pick from the following:

(6) 頼もしくない 項 n 計 12 に (3)(4)(5)(7)(8)(9)14.8 5.8 28.2 34.0 43.0 8.4 51.4 総 数 Total 9.3 7.4 32.7 40.0 43.2 7.5 50.7 男 性 Male 19.1 4.5 24.5 28.9 42.8 9.2 52.0 女 別 Female) 15.8 11.5 35.9 47.4 35.2 1.6 36.8 20 歳代 20's 15.4 6.8 32.0 38.8 40.0 5.7 45.8 30 歳代 30's 13.3 3.6 29.9 33.6 44.9 8.2 53.1 40 歳代 40's 12.8 4.7 24.0 28.7 47.6 11.0 58.5 50 歳代 50's 16.3 4.6 21.8 26.4 44.4 13.0 57.4 60 歳以上 Over 60

Key:

- 1. Don't know
- Unreliable
- 3. Altogether
- 4. Not much
- 5. Subtotal
- 6. Reliable
- 7. Relatively
- 8. Very much
- 9. Subtotal
- 10. Response

On the impression of the SDF, they were asked questions from the following three categories: "Discipline," "Friendliness," and "Reliability." On "Discipline," 63.2 percent believe that they are "well disciplined," and 16.6 percent believe that they are "not well disciplined." On "Reliability," 51.4 percent think that they are "reliable" and 34.0 percent believe that they are "not reliable." Thus, many of them believe that they are "well disciplined" and "reliable." But on "friendliness," 55.2 percent think that they are "not easy to become friendly" and 28.1 percent think "easy to become friendly." Thus, those who believe that they are "friendly" are few.

By age, the older the group, the more of them believed that they were "friendly" and "reliable." The younger the group, the more believed that they were "unfriendly" and "unreliable."

As compared with the results of a previous survey (December 1981), those who responded that they were "reliable" have increased (from 44.3 percent to 51.4 percent); however, on the other hand, those who believed that they were "not well disciplined" have increased (from 9.7 percent to 16.6 percent).

Important Things in the Future

Question 9: Then, of the three, "discipline," "friendliness" and "reliability," which should be stressed most in the future?

When they were asked which of the three--"discipline," "friendliness," and "reliability"--should be valued most in the future, 36.6 percent and 33.4 percent cited "discipline" and "reliability," respectively, and in contrast, only 12.7 percent cited "friendliness" as the most important things in the future.

This showing shows almost no change from the previous survey results, but when the long-term trend of the past survey results are examined, they show that the stress on "reliability" has increased.

(1) 「規律正しさ」「親しみやすさ」「頼もしさ」のうち どれが一番大切か November 1984 Survey 59年!!月調査 17.3 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey 32.5 18.9 December 1978 Survey 53年12月調査 32.2= 19.2 50年10月調3 October 1975 Survey 28.5 26.8 November 1972 Survey 19.6∷ 32.8 44年9月調査 September 1969 Survey 29.4 50 100(%) Key:

- 1. Among "Discipline," "Friendliness," and "Reliability," which is the most important
- 2. Discipline
- 3. Friendliness

- 4. Reliability
- 5. Don't know

Understanding of the SDF

The Role of the SDF

The Number One Objective of the SDF

Question 10: The duty and work to be undertaken by the SDF are mainly the following four. What do you think is the number one objective in establishing the SDF? Choose only one.

```
(1) (2)
         (3)
                (4)
                      (5)(6)
       土ののや民 送やの災 国
ゎ
                                  回
 か
                                  答
 5
                                  項
 な
                                  目
                 12.7 22.5 50.4 44年9月調查 September 1969 Survey
12.7 0.3
          1.5
                 10.3 20.0 56.1 47年11月調查 November 1972 Survey
12.1
    0.3
          1.2
                 13.0 20.8 56.5 50年10月調查 October 1975 Survey
8.1 0.2
          1.2
                 13.3 20.8 56.6 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey
7.8 0.2
          1.5
                 13.2 19.1 59.6 56年12月調查 December 1981 Survey
6.6 0.1
          1.3
                 13.8 17.2 83.0 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey
          1.0
4.9 0.2
                 11.3 18.8 66.6 男
                                     性 Male
2.0
    0.4
          0.9
                                     別 Female } x
7.3 0.2
                 15.5 15.8 60.1 女
          1.1
                 15.1 19.4 59.9 20 歳代 20's
3.3 0.7
          1.6
                 15.1 13.6 67.0 30 歳代30's
3.1 0.4
          0.9
                 14.6 16.8 64.2 40 歳代40's
3.8 0.2
          0.4
                 12.0 17.5 65.0 50 歳 代 50's
4.3
          1.2
9.6 0.2
                 11.7 19.9 57.6 60 啟以上 Over 60
```

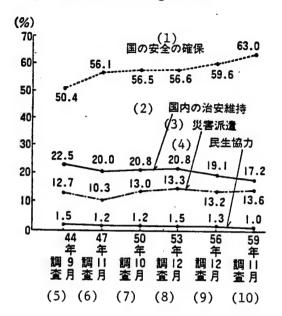
Key:

- 1. Don't know
- 2. Others
- 3. To cooperate in public welfare works (National athletic competitions, Olympics, disposal of unexploded bombs, and peace-time civil engineering works).
- 4. To dispatch to areas of disaster (Rescue activities in times of disaster and emergency patient transportation).
- 5. To maintain domestic law and order.
- 6. To ensure national security (Stop foreign aggression)
- 7. Response

By presenting the principal duties of the SDF, they were asked what they thought was the number one objective for establishing the SDF. In order, the largest number, 63.0 percent, cited to "ensure national security." Seventeen point two percent of the respondents cited "to maintain domestic law and order," 13.6 percent cited "to dispatch to areas of disaster," and 1.0 percent cited "to cooperate in public welfare affairs."

When the long trend of this is examined on the basis of the past survey results, those citing "to ensure national security" have increased in proportion.

Purpose for Creating the SDF



Key:

- 1. To ensure national security
- 2. To maintain domestic law and order
- 3. To dispatch to areas of disaster
- 4. To cooperate in public welfare works
- 5. September 1969 Survey
- 6. November 1972 Survey
- 7. October 1975 Survey
- 8. December 1978 Survey
- 9. December 1981 Survey
- 10. November 1984 Survey

Most Useful Achievement

Question 11: In what respect do you think the SDF have been most useful? Please pick one of the following:

- 1. Don't know
- 2. Others
- To cooperate in public welfare works (National athletic competitions, Olympics, disposal of unexploded bombs, peace-time civil entineering works).
- 4. To dispatch to areas of disaster (rescue activities in times of disaster and emergency patient transportation).
- 5. To maintain domestic law and order
- 6. To ensure national security (stop foreign aggression)
- 7. Response

わからない (1)	の他	ど) 処理、平時の土木工事な ピックの支援、不発弾の 民生協力(国体やオリン	など) 探活動や緊急の患者輸送 災害派遣(災害の時の教	国内の治安維持(5)	らの侵略の抑止)	回答項目 (7)	
4. 2	0. 2	(3) 2.4	(4) 80.9	3. 1	(6) 9.2	総数	Total
2. 0	0. 5	2. 6	80.9	3. 6	10.4	男) 性	Male Sex
6. 0	0. 1	2.3	80.9	2. 6	8. 2	女 別	Female \ x
3. 6	-	3. 0	81.6	2. 3	9. 5	20 歳代	20's
3.6	0. 2	2. 2	82. 9	2. 3	8.8	30 歳代	30's
2. 2	. —	2. 9	83. 6	2. 4	8. 9	40 歳代	40 ' s
3.7	0. 4	2. 4	80. 9	3. 5	9. 1	50 歳代	50's
7.6	0.6	1.9	75. 5	4. 6	9.8	60歳以上	over 60

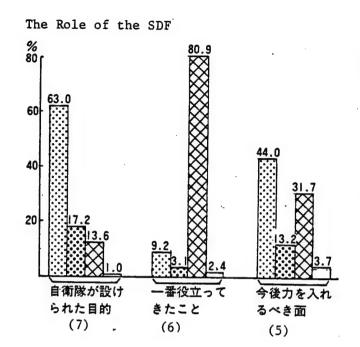
Future Emphasis

Question 12: What do you think the SDF should emphasize in the future? Please choose one of the following:

Key	:	わか	そ	ど処ピ民 理ッ生 ク協	な接災と活害	国内(ら回の侵安	回	
1.	Don't know	5	Ø	平の力	や道	治	略全	答 項	
2.	Others	ts.		時支への提取	聚(急災	安維持	のの抑確		
. 3.	To cooperate in public welfare works	い	他	土、体	の害	持	止保		
	(National athletic competitions,			不小や工発オ	思の) (外 国	(7)	
	Olympics, disposal of unexploded			事弾リ	輸の	(5)	国か		
	bombs, and peace-time civil engi-	(1)	(2)	なのン	送教		-		•
	neering work).	(1)	(2)		(4)		(6)	44 44	W-4-3
4.	To dispatch to areas of disaster	6. 9	0. 4	3. 7	31. 7	13. 2	44. 0		Total
	(rescue activities in times of	4.2	0.6	4.5	26.7	13. 3	50.7	男) 性	Male \S
	disaster and emergency patient	9. 2	0. 2	3.0	35. 9	13. 1	38.5	女 別	Female)X
	transportation).	3.9	1.0	5. 9	38. 5	13. 8	36.8	20 歳代	20's
5.	To maintain domestic law and order.								
6.	To ensure national security (stop	6. 6	0.7	3.4	38. 6	11.0	39.7	30 歳代	30's
	foreign aggression).	5.7		4.6	32.7	13. 1	44.0	40 歳代	40's
7.	Response	6.5	0.4	1.8				50 歳代	
		10.7	0. 2	3.6					over 60
		10. 1	0. 2	3.0	44.9	TO: 0	40. 7	00秋以上	0101 00

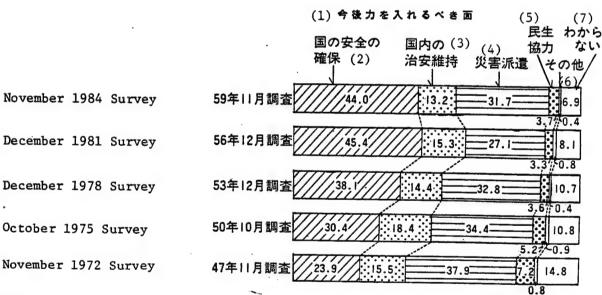
When the people were asked what they thought the most useful aspect of the SDF has been, the response was as follows: 80.9 percent cited "to dispatch to areas of disaster," 9.2 percent cited "to ensure national security," 3.1 percent cited "to maintain domestic law and order," and 2.4 percent cited "to cooperate in public welfare affairs,"

On the question of what should be emphasized in the future, the response was as follows: 44.0 percent cited "to ensure national security," followed by 31.7 percent who cited "to dispatch to areas of disaster," 13.2 percent who cited "to maintain domestic law and order," and 3.7 percent who cited "to cooperate in public welfare affairs."



Key:

- 1. To maintain domestic law and order
- To ensure national security
- 3. To cooperate in public welfare affairs
- To dispatch to areas of disaster
- 5. Future emphasis
- 6. Most useful
- 7. Purpose of creating the SDF



Key:

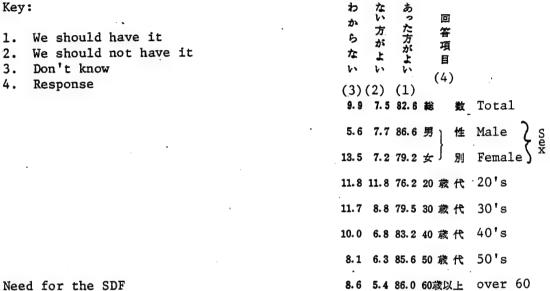
- 1. Emphasis To Be Placed in the Future
- 2. To ensure national security
- 3. To maintain domestic law and order
- . To dispatch to areas of disaster
- To cooperate in public welfare works
- 6. Others

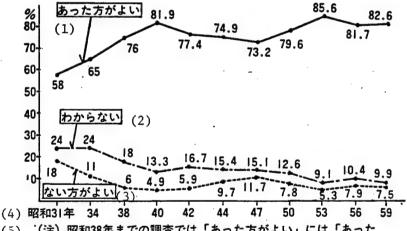
(4)(3)

7. Don't know

Is It Better to Have the SDF?

Ouestion 13: Now, do you think it is better to have the SDF, or would it be better not to have it?





(5) (注) 昭和38年までの調査では、「あった方がよい」には「あった 方がよい」と「あってもよい」を含み、「ない方がよい」に は「ない方がよい」と「なくてもよい」を含む。

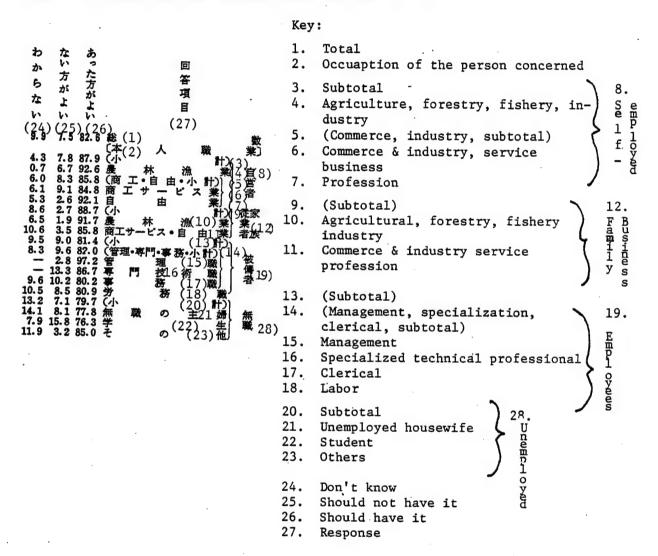
Key:

- We should have it
- 2. Don't know
- We should not have it
- 1956
- In the 1963 survey, under the category of "we should have it," the categories of "it is better to have it," and "it is fine even if we have it," were included, and under the category of "we should not have it." "Better not to have it" and "it is fine even if we don't" were included.

On the question of whether or not they should have the SDF, more than 80 percent, 82.6 percent to be exact, responded that it was better to have the SDF, and on the other hand, 7.5 percent responded that it would be better not to have it. Further, 9.9 percent of them said "don't know."

By age, the older the group, the more responded that it was "we should have it." The figure reached 86 percent when it came to the people in their fifties and up. On the need for the SDF, the results are not much different from those of the previous surveys. For the past 20 years the rate of support has been stabilized at around the 80 percent mark.

By occupation, more people in the managerial, agricultural, forestry, fishery and professional fields believed that "we should have it," and on the other hand, few housewives and students saw the need for it.



Reasons for "Having"

Supplementary Question 1.

回答項目 (1) 回答項目 (1) (8)(7)(6)(4) (3)(2)

139 2 1 7 45 19 63 59年11月 2 1 5 5 1 1 8 調査

141 1 1 7 39 23 68 56年12月 3 8 0 7 4 1 3 調査

(11) 139 2 1 9 45 22 59 53年12月 9 8 1 2 5 3 0 調査 Why do you think that we should have the SDF? (Questioned 2,002 individuals who had responded that it was better to have the SDF.)

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. To ensure national security
- 3. To maintain domestic law and order
- 4. To dispatch to areas of disaster
- 5. To cooperate in public welfare works
- 6. Others
- 7. Don't know
- 8. Total
- 9. November 1984 Survey
- 10. December 1981 Survey
- 11. December 1978 Survey

Reasons for "Not Having"

Supplementary Question 2.

Why do you think that there is no need for it? (181 persons who respond with "it is better not to have the SDF" were given this question).

- Response
 Because we have a constitution which renounces war
- Because the people's economic burden will be heavy
- 4. Because military base question will arise
- Because we will be drawn into a war if we are armed
- Because we pose a threat to other countries if we are armed
- 7. Because it is unthinkable that there would be a foreign invasion
- 8. Others
- 9. Don't know
- 10. Total
- 11. November 1984 Survey
- 12. December 1981 Survey
- 13. December 1978 Survey

1	計 (10) (たからない 9)	0	えられないから (他国からの侵略の脅威は考 7)	与えるから (6)	まれるから 戦争にまきこ (5)	基地問題が生じるから (4)	5 国民の経済負担が大きいか 3)		回答項目 (1)
:	153 8	4	12	5	12	43 1	7	28 7	40	(11) 59年11月 調査
	154	1 6	9	7 4	8 • 5	35 4	-8 • 5	34	48 7	(12) 56年12月 調査
	144	5	11	10	10	26	7	27	45	(13) 53年12月

To those (2,002) who responded that it was better to have the SDF, their reason was asked. The largest number, 63.8 percent, cited "to ensure national security," followed by 45.1 percent who cited "to dispatch to the areas of disaster," 19.1 percent who cited "to maintain domestic law and order," and 7.5 percent who cited "to cooperate in the public welfare affairs." (Plural responses)

The chief reasons of those (181) who responded that it was better not to have the SDF were as follows: 43.1 percent believed that "because Japan would be drawn into a war if armed," 40.3 percent cited that "because there is the constitution which renounces war," and 28.7 percent cited "because the people's economic burden would become heavy," (multiple responses). These were the principal reasons.

Defense System

The Scale of Defense Strength

The Size of the Land SDF

Question 14. We would like to have your views on the defense capability of the land, maritime, and sea SDF in the defense of Japan's security. First of all, the defense capability of Japan's Land SDF and those of other armies of various other countries are roughly as shown on the chart. In your view, should we strengthen the land SDF more, should we maintain the present level of its strength, or should we reduce it?

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今の程度でよい
                   回
                   答
                   項
(1). (2)(3) (4)
22.8 10.8 44.4 22.0 44年9月調査 September 1969 Survey
19.4 18.4 51.2 11.0 47年11月調査 November 1972 Survey
19.0 9.9 54.5 16.6 50年12月調査 December 1975 Survey
19.1 5.8 53.5 21.6 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey
15.9 9.6 52.2 22.3 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey
14.2 11.8 61.4 12.6 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey
.5.5 11.2 64.7 18.7 男
                       性 Male
21.5 12.3 58.6 7.5 女
                       別 Female X
9.2 21.7 56.9 12.2 20 蒙代 20's
12.2 13.5 65.4 9.0 30 歳代 30's
14.4 11.3 64.0 .10.2 40 蒙代 40's
13.8 8.9 64.0 13.2 50 歳 代 50's
19.5 7.5 54.5 18.5 60 歳以上 Over 60
```

- 1. Don't know
- Reduce it from its present level
- 3. Maintain the present level
- Increase it from its present level
- Response

Size of the Maritime SDF

Question 15: What about the Maritime Self-Defense Force? Do you think that we should strengthen it further, maintain the present level of its strength, or reduce it? By looking at this chart, what is your view?

わからない	今より少なくて	今の程度でよい	増強した方がよ		回答項目	•			
24. 9 22. 0 21. 1 21. 8 16. 9 15. 1 6. 1 22. 6 11. 2 13. 8 14. 6 14. 4	(2) 10.5 16.9 9.8 6.2 9.2 11.7 11.3 12.0 22.0 13.8 10.2 9.3	(3) 37.8 46.1 50.7 49.2 50.9 57.8 58.1 57.7 54.6 61.2 61.1 59.3	26. 9 15. 0 18. 4 22. 9 22. 9 15. 4 24. 6 7. 8 12. 2 11. 1 14. 1 16. 9	44° 47° 50° 53° 56° 59° 男女20 30 40 50	年10月 年12月 年12月 年11月 第	調調調調調工	September November October December December November Male Female 20's 30's 40's 50's Over 60	1972 1975 S 1978 1981	Survey Survey Survey Survey

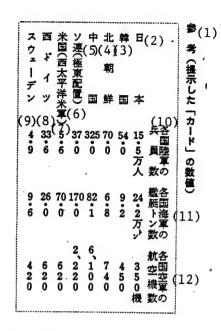
Key:

- 1. Don't know
- Reduce it from the present level
- 3. Maintain the present level
- 4. Increase it from the present level
- 5. Response

Size of Air SDF

Question 16: What about the Air SDF? Do you think that we should strengthen it further, maintain the present level of its strength, or reduce it? By looking at this chart, what is your view?

1. 2. 3. 4.	Response Increase it from the present level Maintain the present level Reduce it from the present level Don't know	わからない	今より少なくて	今の程度でよい	増強した方がよ	回答項目	
6.	September 1969 Survey .		(4) 11.2	(3)	(2) 23.6	(1) 44年9月調査	(6)
7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.	November 1972 Survey October 1975 Survey December 1978 Survey December 1981 Survey November 1984 Survey Sex Female Age 20's 30's 40's	20.8 21.8 16.2 14.5 5.7 21.7 10.2 12.9 14.2	11.0 6.5 9.6 11.5 10.7 12.1 20.4	52. 7 48. 5 50. 0 55. 8 54. 3 57. 1 51. 3 58. 9 58. 4	15. 4 23. 2 24. 2 18. 2 29. 2 9. 1 18. 1 14. 2 17. 0	50年10月調調 53年12月調調調 56年12月調 9年11月 9(13) 次(14) 成 30 歳 40	(8) (9) (10)
18. 19.	50's Over 60					50 歳 八 60 歳 以 上	



Key:

- 1. Reference (figures shown on the card)
- 2. Japan
- 3. South Korea
- 4. North Korea
- 5. People's Republic of China
- 6. Soviet Union (Deployed in the Far East)
- United States (U.S. Military in the Western Pacific)
- 8. West Germany
- 9. Sweden
- 10. Number of men in the army
- 11. Tonnage of ships in the navy
- 12. Number of aircrafts in the air force

By showing the people a crad which indicated the military strengths (Army-number of men; Navy-tonnage of ships; and Air Force-number of aircrafts) of Japan and other countries (South Korea, North Korea, People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union (Soviet military in the Far East)), the United States (U.S. military in the Western Pacific), West Germany, and Sweden), they were asked their opinion about the scales of the strength of each of the land, maritime, and air SDF. More than half of those respondents, 61.4 percent, 57.8 percent, and 55.8 percent respectively, were of the opinion that "the present level of strength," of each of the land, maritime and air SDF, should be maintained. Those who responded that it should be "strengthened further" were more than 10 percent (12.6 percent), 15.4 percent, and 18.2 percent respectively). About 10 percent believed that it "should be reduced" (11.8 percent, 11.7 percent, and 11.5 percent respectively).

As compared with the previous survey, those who responded that the "present level should be maintained" have increased, and those who responded that "it should be strengthened further" have decreased.

Reference (The figures on the card shown to them.)

Scale of the Defense Budget

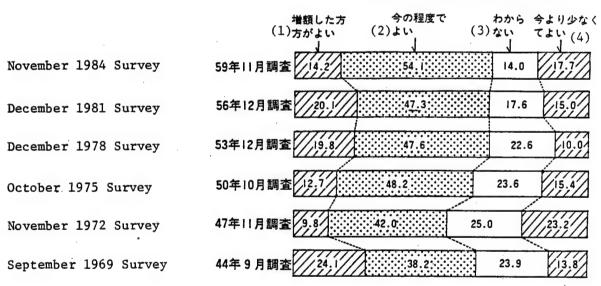
Question 17: Japan's 1984 defense budget was about Y2.9 trillion. The proportion it occupies in our country's budget and its comparisons with main free democratic countries are as shown. In your opinion, to maintain the peace and security of Japan, should we increase defense spending, maintain the present level, or reduce it?

わ よ今 今 い増額 回答項目 いがり 少なくて (2) (1) (5) (4) (3) 14.0 17.7 54.1 14.2 総 数 (6) 5.8 16.7 55.8 21.7 月 (9) 別 (10) 8.6 26.3 52.0 13.2 20 歳代 20's 13.1 22.4 54.2 10.2 30 歳代 30's 13.1 16.4 56.9 13.5 40 歳代 40's 11.8 16.1 56.9 15.2 50 歳代 50's 21.2 10.7 49.5 18.5 60歳以上 over 60

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. Increase it from the present level
- 3. Maintain it at the present level
- 4. Reduce it from the present level
- 5. Don't know
- 6. Total
- 7. Sex
- 8. Male
- 9. Female
- 10. Age

The Scale of Defense Budget



- Key: 1. Increase it
 - 2. Maintain at present level
 - 3. Don't know -

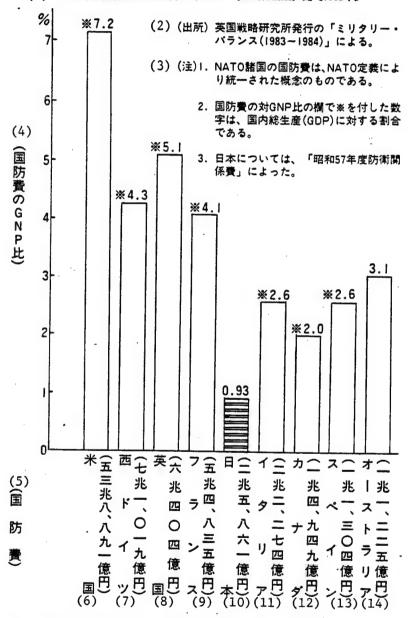
4. Reduce from present level

The 1984 defense budget was about Y2.9 trillion. By giving them cards which shows the proportion defense occupies in our country's budget (5.8 percent) and the ratio of the defense spendings of the major liberal democratic nations to their GNP's, they were asked to give their opinion about the scale of the defense budget. Fifty-four point one percent of the respondents were of the opinion that the "present level should be maintained," 14.2 percent said that "it should be increased," and 17.7 percent were for a "decrease."

As compared with the previous surveys, those who want to see the maintenance of the present level has increased, and those who want to see it increased have decreased.

By sex and age, there was almost no change in the category of "the present level should be maintained." On the opinion that "it should be increased," more men (21.7 percent) were in favor of it than women (7.9 percent). The older males were more in favor of the increase. As for the opinion that "it should be reduced," there was no big difference between sexes (16.7 percent for male and 18.6 percent for female), but the younger they were (both sexes), more [of] them were in favor of the decrease.

(1) おもな自由主義諸国の国防費と対GNP (国民総生産) 比 [1982年]



- 8. United Kingdom (6 trillion 40.4 billion yen) 13.
- 9. France (5 trillion 483.5 billion yen)
- 10. Japan (2 trillion 586,1 billion yen)
- 11. Italy (2 trillion 227.4 billion yen)
- 12. Canada (1 trillion 494.9 billion yen)

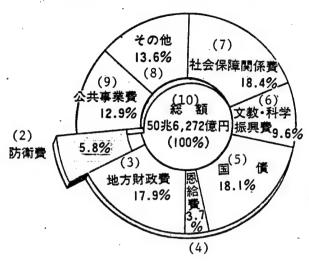
Key:

- 1. Defense Expenditures of Major Democratic Nations and their Proportions to the GNP (Gross National Product) (1982)
- Source: "Military Balance 1983-1984," published by the British Strategic Institute
- 3. Notes:
 - 1. The defense expenditures of the NATO nations are of the uniform concept by the definition of NATO
 - The figures with asterisks(*) in the column of the proportion of the defense expenditure to the GNP indicate the proportion to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
 - As for Japan it is based on 1982 "Defense Related Expenditures."
- Proportion of defense expenditures to the GNP
- Defense expenditures
- United States (53 trillion 889.1 billion yen)
- 7. West Germany (7 trillion 101.9 billion yen)

Spain (1 trillion 130.4 billion yen)

14. Australia (1 trillion 122.5 billion yen)

(1) 昭和59年度予算に占める主要関係予算の割合

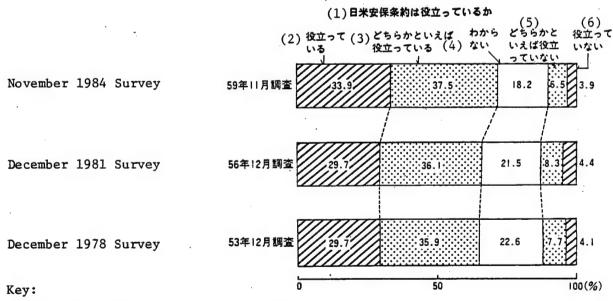


Key:

- 1. Proportions that the related principal budgets in the 1984 occupy in the 1984 budget
- 2. Defense Expenditures
- 3. Local Fiscal Expenditures
- 4. Pensions
- 5. National Bonds
- Educational and Scientific Promotions
- 7. Social Security
- 8. Others
- 9. Public Works
- 10. Total Amount: 50 trillion 627.2 billion yen

The Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

Question 18: We would like to ask your opinion on the present condition of Japan's defense. At present, Japan is in a security treaty relationship with the United States. Do you think that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is or is not useful for maintaining the peace and security of Japan? Which of these do you choose?



- 1. Has the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty been useful?
- 2. Has been useful.
- Has been useful if choice is to be made
- 4. Don't know.
- 5. Has not been useful if choice is to be made.
- 6. Has not been useful.

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(2) (6)
役立っていない 役立っている
                                       Key:
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                                        1.
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                                            Has not been useful if choice is to be
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                                            Has been useful
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                                            Has been useful if choice is to be made.
        6.5 10.4 37.5 33.9 71.4 総
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44.2 80.0 男
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                                            Subtotal
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                                            Response
26.6 2.8 6.3 9.1 38.9 25.4 64.3 4 (15)
                                                              11.
                                                                    Total
                                                              12.
                                                                    Sex
12.2 6.3 9.2 15.5 44.1 28.3 72.4 20 歳代 20's
                                                              13.
                                                                    Male
16.9 5.2 7.5 12.7 39.1 31.2 70.4 30 歳代 30's
                                                              14.
                                                                    Female
                                                            · 15.
                                                                    Age
15.0 2.7 4.7 7.5 40.0 37.6 77.6 40 歳代 40's
21.1 2.6 6.9 9.6 35.6 33.7 69.3 50 歳代 50's
23.9 3.4 5.2 8.6 31.2 36.3 67.5 60歳以上 over 60 years old
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When asked about whether or not the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was useful in maintaining Japan's peace and security, 33.9 percent of the respondents said "it is useful," and 37.5 percent said "if they are to choose one, it is useful." Thus, putting them together it reaches 71.4 percent. Three point nine percent responded that "it is not useful," and 6.5 percent responded that "if they are to choose, it is not useful." Putting them together, 10.4 percent belong to this category. Eighteen point two percent responded that they "don't know."

As compared with the previous survey, more people believe that "it is useful."

By sex and age, more men (80.0 percent) than women (64.3 percent) believed it either to be "useful" or "useful if they are to choose one," and by age, more people in their 40's believed it useful (77.6 percent).

What Japan's Defense Should Be

Question 19: What measure do you think we should take to defend Japan's security? Which of the following would you choose?

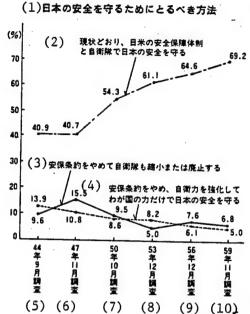
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(1)(2)
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                (4)
                        (5)
                              44年9月調査 September 1969 Survey
35.3 1.3
         9.6
                40.9
                              47年11月調査 November 1972 Survey
        15.5
                40.7
                        10.8
31.9 1.1
                              50年10月調査 October 1975 Survey
          9.5
                54.3
                         8.6
27.0
    0.6
                              53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey
24.9
     0.8
          5.0
                61.1
                         8. 2
                              56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey
    0.9
          7.6
                         6.1
20.8
                64.6
                              59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey
     1.1
                69. 2
                         5. 0
                                      性 Male
8.2 1.4
          8.0
                76.3
                         6.1
                                      別 Female 5.x
                         4.2
                              女
25.9
     0.9
          5.8
                63. 2
13.5
     2.0 13.5
                68.4
                         2.6
                              20
                                  歳
                                      代 20's
        .. 8.1
                67.1
                         5.6
                              30
                                  歳
                                      代 30's
17.6 1.6
                              40
                                  歳
                                     代 40's
14.8 0.7
          5.8
                74.5
                         4.2
                         5.9 50
                                 歳代50's
19.5 1.0
          4.7
                68.9
                         5.9 60 歳以上 Over 60 years old
                66.5
22.4 0.6
```

Key:

- 1. Don't know
- 2. Others
- The security treaty should be ended and the SDF should be either reduced or abolished
- 4. Leave it as it is; defend Japan's security through the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the SDF
- Japan's security should be maintained through our own strength alone by ending the security treaty and reinforcing the self-defense capability
- . Response

When the people were asked what measure they thought should be taken to defend Japan's security, the majority of the respondents, 69.2 percent, responded that "keep it as it is now, Japan's security is defended by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and by the SDF." Six point eight percent responded that we should "end the security treaty and either reduce or abolish the SDF," and 5.0 percent were for "ending the security treaty, strengthening the ability to defend ourselves, and defending Japan's security, relying only on our country's ability." Thus many of them are going along with what we have now. Seventeen point nine percent responded "don't know."

When the long-term trend of this is examined on the basis of past survey results, the proportion of people believing that "Japan's security should be defended by the security system and the SDF" has increased. At this time, it is at a high rate of nearly 70 percent.



Key:

- Measures to be taken to maintain the security of Japan.
- Leave it as it is; maintain Japan's security through the Japan-U.S. security system and the SDF.
- The security treaty should be ended and the SDF should be either reduced or abolished.
- End the security treaty, and maintain Japan's security with our own strength only by reinforcing the self-defense capability.
- 5. September 1969 Survey
- 6. November 1972 Survey
- 7. October 1975 Survey
- 8. December 1978 Survey
- 9. December 1981 Survey
- 10. November 1984 Survey

Defense Consciousness

Feeling to Defend

(9岁 い

Question 20: We would like to find out your feelings about "defending the nation." In comparison with others, do you think your feelings for "defending the nation" are on the strong side or on the weak side? Which one do you choose?

Key:

- 1. Very weak (not at all)
- Weak if choice is to be made 2..
- 3. Subtotal
- Don't know 4.
- Strong if choice is to be made 5.
- Very strong

非常に弱いるがある。 項 15 6. 目 7. Subtotal (8)December 1978 Survey 調査 56年12月 December 1981 Survey 36. 2 17. 6 53. 8 November 1984 Survey 6.3 7.4 39.0 36.0 17.6 53.6 1.0 3.9 4.9 30.9 38.2 25.9 64.1 男] 性 Male 1.2 8.2 9.4 45.7 34.1 10.7 44.8 女 別 Female) 2.6 13.8 16.4 54.9 25.3 3.3 28.6 20 歳代 20's 1.1 9.0 10.1 48.5 32.7 8.8 41.5 30 歳代 30's 1.1 6.4 7.5 40.5 37.8 14.2 52.0 40 歳代 40's

0.6 2.8 3.5 31.9 40.7 24.0 64.6 50 歳代 50's

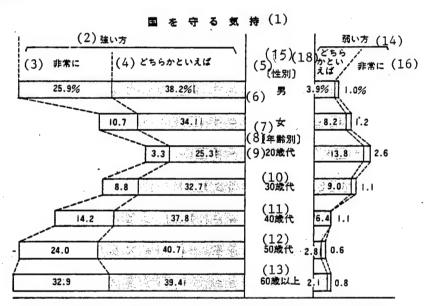
い(10)

- 8. Response
- 9. Weak
- 10. Strong

When the people were asked about whether they had strong or weak feelings about defending their country, in comparison with others, 17.6 percent responded "very strong," and 36.0 percent said if they were to choose, it would be on the strong side. Thus, putting together them, they reached 53.6 percent, more than a majority. In contrast, 1.1 percent said "very weak," and 6.3 percent said it was on the weak side. Altogether, those who believed that they were on the weak side made up 7.4 percent. Still, 39 percent of them said they didn't know.

As compared with past survey results, the present results show little change.

By sex and age, more men (64.1 percent) than women (44.8 percent) had "strong) feelings for the national defense. Those who had "weak feelings" towards the national defense were found more among the young people than from the higher age brackets.



- Feelings for defending the country
- 2. Strong side
- 3. Very much
- 4. If choice is to be made
- 5. Sex
- . 6. Male
- 7. Female
- 8. By age

- 9. 20's
- 10. 30's
- 11. 40's
- 12. 50's
- 13. Over 60 years
- 14. Weak side
- 15. If choice is to be made
- 16. Very much

Feeling and Education

Question 21: Do you think that the issue of promoting the people's feelings for defending our nation should be taken up in the field of education or not?

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答
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               b
              (1)
(4)(3)
        (2)
23.0 29.2 47.9 53年12月 December 1978 Survey
21.6 31.5 47.0 <sup>56年12月</sup> December 1981 Survey
21.5 29.3 49.2
                置本 November 1984 Survey
13.6 30.0 56.4 男
                 性 Male
28.2 28.7 43.2 女 ]
                 別 Female x
18.4 47.7 33.9 20 放代 20's
23.3 38.4 38.2 30 歳代30's
20.1 28.5 51.5 40 歳代40's
20.7 22.4 56.9 50 款代50's
23.7 16.3 60.0 60歳以上 Over 60
```

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. Necessary
- 3. Unnecessary
- 4. Don't know

```
衛隊がある
                                               項
               な
 (11)
                                               B
     (10)(9)(8)(7)(6)(5)(4)(3)(2)
                                             (1)
120.0 5.3 3.3 16.6 13.4 1.8 27.6 22.5 29.4 826 50年10月調査 October 1975 Survey
121.4 5.0 4.4 15.1 8.7 3.0 29.7 23.0 32.5 888 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey
121.8 3.9 4.3 12.7 13.9 2.4 25.3 24.3 34.9 510 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey
125.9 3.0 5.7 18.3 11.8 3.1 27.1 27.8 31.3 576 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey
127.8 3.6 8.7 9.0 11.9 3.2 27.1 30.3 33.9 277 男
                                                   性Male
124.1 2.3 3.0 23.1 11.7 3.0 27.1 25.1 28.8 299 女
                                                   別Female X
130.3 1.5 4.5 10.6 12.1
                       - 31.8 24.2 45.5 66 20
                                                   代20's
129.1 2.4 6.3 15.7 13.4 3.9 30.7 26.8 29.9 127 30
                                                   代30's
127.8 3.5 3.5 13.2 13.9 3.5 25.0 32.6 32.6 144 40
                                               歳
                                                   代40's
116.9 5.1 8.5 19.5 9.3 0.8 23.7 22.0 28.0 118 50
126.4 1.7 5.8 20.7 9.9 5.8 26.4 29.8 26.4 121 60 京以上Over 60
```

- 1. Response
- 2. Number of Persons surveyed
- 3. Because there is a constitution that renounces war
- Because there is the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty
- Because the United Nations strives to maintain peace
- 6. Because there is the SDF
- Because the people's awareness of defending the country is high
- 8. No particular reason
- 9. Others
- 10. Don't know
- 11. Total

To those 1,475 persons who responded that "there is a danger" and "cannot rule it out" their reasons were asked. The reasons given by one group (68.1 percent) was conspicuous: "because there exists international tension and confrontation." Others were as follows: 16.3 percent "because there is the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," 13.4 percent "because of the inadequacy of the functions of the United Nations," 10.2 percent "no particular reason but feel that way," and 6.6 percent "because of the inadequacy in the ability defend itself." (multiple responses)

Reasons Why There is No Danger (asked to those who responded that there is no danger)

Supplementary Question 2: Why do you think so? Which of the following do you choose? (576 individuals who responded that "there won't be such a danger")

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だから
国連の機能が不十分
                  自衛力が不十分だか
(10) な
                                            (1)
    (9) (8) (7)(6) (5) (4) (3)(2)
116.6 3.4 1.4 17.5 8.6 13.2 16.1 56.3 1,049 50年10月調查 October 1975 Survey
117.5 3.7 1.4 12.9 12.2 11.3 14.0 61.9 1,068 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey
118.8 2.6 1.2 7.3 7.8 11.7 16.8 71.5 1,441 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey
119.5 2.7 2.0 10.2 6.6 13.4 16.3 68.1 1,475 59年11月額查 November 1984 Survey
124.4 1.7 2.7 5.2 8.8 15.5 19.1 71.5
                                   716 男
                                                性 Male
                                    759 女
114.8 3.7 1.4 15.0 4.6 11.5 13.7 64.8
                                                   Female 5 %
                                                代 20's
121.0 2.9 2.0 6.8 4.4 16.1 11.2 77.6
                                    205 20
                                           歳
123.1 1.9 1.1. 7.1 7.1 14.4 17.7 73.9
                                    368 30
                                            蒙
                                                代 30's
116.6 3.3 1.2 10.2 6.0 14.2 14.5 67.2
                                    332 40
                                            歳
                                                代 40's
121.6 2.9 3.6 12.6 8.3 13.7 20.1 60.4
                                    278 50
                                           款 代 50's
                                    292 60 歳以上 Over 60
115.1 2.7 2.7 14.4 6.8 9.2 16.8 62.3
```

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. Number of persons surveyed
- 3. Because there exists international tension and confrontation
- 4. Because there is the Japan-U.S. security treaty
- Because of the inadequacy of the functions of the United Nations
- Because of the insufficiency in the self-defense capability
- 7. No particular reason
- 8. Others
- 9. Don't know
- 10. Total

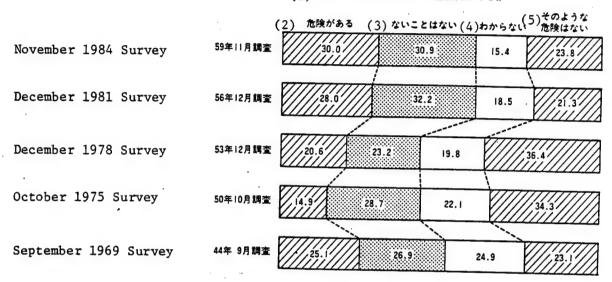
When people were asked the above question, 30.0 percent of the respondents believed that "there is a danger," and 30.9 percent said they "cannot rule it out." Thus, altogether, 60 percent of the respondents possess a sense of insecurity, although there is a degree of difference. This is far above the 23.8 percent who believed that "there is no such danger."

By age, many of the younger group have a sense of insecurity.

Reasons for Danger (Surveyed those responded that there is a danger)

Supplementary Question 1: Why do you think so? Which of the following do you pick? (Surveyed 1,475 persons who responded either "there is a danger" or "cannot rule it out")

* (1)日本が戦争にまき込まれる危険性はあるか



Key:

- 1. Is there a danger that Japan might be drawn into a war?
- 2. There is a danger

- 3. Cannot rule it out
- 4. Don't know
- 5. There is no such danger

Being Drawn Into a War

Question 22: Taking the present world situation into consideration, do you or do you not see a danger of Japan being forced into a war or being drawn into one?

```
15.4 23.8 30.9 30.0 60.8 総
                           数 Total
 9.6 25.2 30.6 34.6 65.2 男
                           性 Male
20.2 22.6 31.1 26.2 57.3 女
                           別 Female)
10.9 21.7 31.6 35.9 67.4 20 歳代 20's
11.1 22.8 32.5 33.6 66.1 30 歳代 30's
13.1 26.3 31.4 29.2 60.6 40 歳代 40's
19.5 24.0 31.9 24.6 56.5 50 歳代 50's
```

21.0 23.1 27.2 28.7 55.8 60歳以上 Over 60 years of age

When the people were asked whether or not it is necessary to take up the issue of promoting the people's feelings for defending the nation in education, 49.2 percent responded that "it is necessary," 29.3 percent "it is unnecessary," and 21.5 percent "don't know."

Key:

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

Response

Subtotal

Don't know

There is a danger

There is a danger

Cannot rule it out

There is no such danger

By sex and age, more men (56.4 percent) than women (43.2 percent) responded that "it is necessary," and the older the group, the more it believed it necessary. The younger, the less need they saw.

Not Needing-It

Supplementary Question: On what grounds do you not see the need for it?

The reasons that "it is not necessary" to take up the issue in education (710 respondents) are as follows in the descending order: 37.7 percent on the grounds that "it has implications of the revival of militarism," 28.6 percent "because it is not something that should be promoted through education," 23.8 percent "because there is danger of it being used in various ways," 18.5 percent "because it is natural to have feelings for defending one's own country," and 15.1 percent "because the feeling for defending one's own country will rise when the situation developes." (multiple responses)

		た	そ	か軍	危い	な教い育	気そ	当国然を	該			Key:	•
		だ		ら 国主義の復活につながる	だいかる	かで	ち場	だける	当	回		1.	Response
		な		の	かろらな	の回り	出な	が気気	· 者	答		2.	Individuals concerned
			Ø	经	なことに利用され	められるものでは	のから国を守る	気持ちを持つのは	***	項		3.	Because it is natural to have feel-
(:	10	ع(につ	に乗	ş	りら	を独	数	~		i	ings for defending one's nation
. •		た		本	角	စိ	き	2	\sim	目	-	4.	Because the feelings for defending
		٠.	他	が	ž	で	4	9	\mathcal{S}				the country will develop when it
		-		_		42	_	12	(0)	(1)			comes to that point
	(9)	(8)	(/)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)			5.	Because it is something that can be
1	21	10	2	27	19	26	15	20	711	53年12月			promoted by education
	ö	5	i	4	ö	26 4	5	20 0	111	[11]調查		6.	Because there is danger of it being
									(11)			used in various ways
												7.	Because it has implications of re-
1	28	6	1	39	20	26 8	13	20 2	753	56年12月			vival of militarism
	7	6	3	7	3	8	7	2	(12)調查		8.	Others
												9.	No particular reason
	20			44	20							10.	Total
•	30	•	:	3/	23	28 6	13	18 5	710	59年11月 13)調査		11.	December 1978 Survey
1	8	4	8	1	8	6	1	5	(13) 理查			
												13.	
												10.	November 1984 Survey

On the other hand, the reasons given by the 576 persons who responded that "there won't be such a danger" were as follows: 31.3 percent responded that "because there is a constitution which renounces the war," 27.6 percent "because of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," and 27.1 percent "because the United Nations is striving for peace." (Multiple responses)

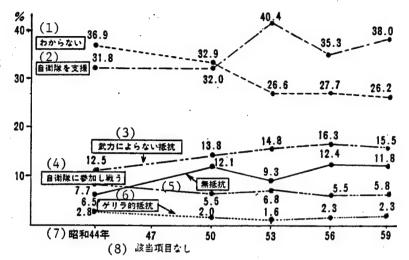
If Japan is Invaded

Question 23: What would you do if Japan were invaded by a foreign country?
- Which of the following would you choose?

Key:	わ そ 一 を武 るゲ 隊何 う自	
1. Response	切 ず力 り をら 衛 回 か なるに ラ 支か 隊	
2. Fight by joining	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
the SDF 3. Support the SDF	しな 抵る法 加 項	
3. Support the SDF in some way	。 な	٠
4. Put up a guer-	(1)	
rilla-style re-	to a to the training to the t	У
sistance	32.0 5.6 50年10月調査 October 1975 Survey	
Resist without	26.6 0.5 9.3 14.8 1.6 40.4 6.8 53年12月調査 December 1978 Survey	
relying on mili-	27.7 0.5 12.4 16.3 2.3 35.3 5.5 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey	
tary means	26.2 1.4 11.8 15.5 2.3 38.0 5.0 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey	
6. No resist at all	16.6 1.6 7.8 15.5 3.7 45.9 8.9 男 性 Male 7 S	•
7. Others	34.1 1.1 15.0 15.5 1.1 31.5 1.7 女	
8. Don't know	24.3 1.0 10.9 22.4 3.6 33.2 4.6 20 歳代 20's	
	23.3 0.9 10.8 21.0 3.2 36.3 4.5 30 歳代 30's A	
	24.6 1.3 11.3 15.9 1.5 40.5 4.9 40 歳代 40's	
	26.8 2.2 12.0 12.0 1.6 40.2 5.1 50 藏代 50's	
	31.2 1.3 13.6 8.4 1.9 37.9 5.7 60 歳以上 Over 60 years old	

Key:

- 1. Don't know
- 2. Support the SDF
- 3. Resist without relying on military means
- 4. Fight by joining the SDF
- 5. No resistance
- 6. Guerrilla-style resistance
- 7. 1969, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1984
- Nothing under this item



When asked what they would do if Japan were invaded by a foreign country, 5.0 percent responded that they would "join the SDF and fight." Thirty-eight point zero percent responded that they would "aid the SDF in some way," 2.3 percent said that they would "put up a guerrilla-style resistance," and 15.5 percent said that they would put up a resistance by non-military means." Together 60.8 percent of the respondents expressed their intention to putting up resistance in some way.

On the other hand, 11.8 percent of them said they "will not put up any resistance whatsoever," 26.2 percent said "don't know."

By age, many people in the middle and old age groups said that they would "aid the SDF in some way" (40.5 percent for those in their 40's and 40.2 percent for those in their 50's), and many in the younger group chose "resist by other than military means." (22.4 percent for those in their 20's and 21.0 percent for those in their 30's.)

Japan's Peace and Security

Question 24: Considering Japan's peace and security, if you have something you are concerned with, please cite as many as three from the following:

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中越対立と東南アジ
                                         北方領土へのソ連
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                                                       中
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                                    安
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                                    定
    (17) (16)(15) (14)(13) (12) (11)(10) (9) (8) (7)
(17) (16)(15) (14)(13) (12) (11)(10) (9) (8) (7) (6) (5) (4) (3) (2) (1)
201.7 14.5 14.6 0.3 31.3 2.7 1.7 8.5 36.1 — 7.1 16.3 36.5 5.2 7.9 19.1 2,393 56年12月調査 Dec 1981 Survey
204.8 13.0 15.9 0.5
                          2.9 2.0 10.9 42.6 21.1 8.7 16.1 41.0 4.4 4.9 20.6 2,424 59年11月調査 Nov 1984 Survey
234.8 5.6 8.6 0.5
                         3.4 2.4 16.2 53.0 24.9 9.1 20.6 53.9 5.6 5:7 25.5 1,099 男
                                                                                             性 Male
                                                                                               Female S
179.6 19.1 22.0 0.6
                         2.5 1.7 6.5 34.0 18.0 8.5 12.4 30.3 3.4 4.2 16.5 1,325 女
                                                                                             別
215.8 5.6 17.4 1.0
                      - 2.3 2.6 8.6 42.1 25.3 16.4 17.8 47.7 4.9 4.3 19.7
                                                                               304 20
                                                                                            H
                                                                                                20's
210.8 10.1 15.3 0.4
                         3.9 2.2 7.9 42.9 25.7 9.3 17.8 44.0 4.5 3.8 23.2
                                                                               557 30
                                                                                            代
                                                                                                30's
211.7 10.4 12.8 0.5
                         2.9 1.1 11.1 44.3 20.1 8.2 17.3 43.4 5.1 8.0 26.3
                                                                               548 40
                                                                                                40's
                                                                                            Ħ
202.4 15.9 15.4 0.6
                         3.3 3.3 12.0 44.3 18.7 7.7 17.9 37.4 4.3 4.1 17.7
                                                                               492 50
                                                                                        歳
                                                                                            代
                                                                                               50's
                     - 1.7 1.3 14.1 39.2 17.2 5.2 10.3 34.8 3.3 3.8 15.1
                                                                               523 60 歳以上 Over 60 years
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Key:

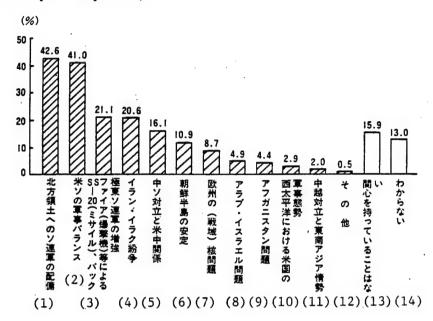
- 1. Response
- 2. Number of persons surveyed
- 3. Iran-Iraq conflict
- 4. Arab-Israel problem
- 5. Afghanistan question
- 6. U.S.-USSR military balance
- 7. Sino-Soviet confrontation and the Sino-U.S. relations
- 8. Nuclear question in Europe (war zone)
- Reinforcement of the Far Eastern Soviet military by such means as the SS-20's (missiles) and the Backfire (bombers)

- Soviet military deployment in the Northern Territories
- 11. Stability of the Korean Peninsula
- 12. The Sino-Vietnam confrontation and the situation in Southeast Asia
- 13. The U.S. military posture in the western Pacific
- 14. The Poland question
- 15. Others
- 16. I am not concerned with it
- 17. Don't know
- 18. Total

When they were asked what problems that they were concerned with about Japan's peace and security, the largest number, 42.6 percent, chose "the deployment of the Soviet military units in the northern territories." It was followed by 41.0 percent who chose the "U.S.-Soviet military balance," 21.1 percent who chose "the increase in the Far Eastern Soviet military with SS-20 (missile) and Backfire (bombers)," 20.6 percent who chose "the Iran-Iraq War," and 16.1 percent who chose "Sino-U.S. relations and the Sino-Soviet confrontation."

On the other hand, 15.9 percent of them said "they have nothing that they are concerned with," and 13.0 percent said "don't know" (plural responses).

Graph: Considering the peace and security of Japan, what concerns do you have? (multiple responses)



Key:

- Deployment of the Soviet military in the Northern Territories
- 2. The U.S.-Soviet military balance
- The reinforcement of the Far Eastern Soviet military by means of SS-20's (missiles) and the Backfire (bombers)
- 4. Iran-Iraq War
- Sino-Soviet confrontation and Sino-U.S. relations
- 6. Stability of the Korean Peninsula
- 7. Nuclear issue in Europe (war zone)

- 8. Arab-Israel question
- 9. Afghanistan question
- 10. U.S. military posture in the western Pacific
- 11. Sino-Vietnam conflict and the Southeast Asian situation
- 12. Others
- 13. I am not concerned with it
- 14. Don't know

As compared with previous survey results, they are nor more concerned with "the deployment of the Soviet military in the Northern Territories" (from 36.1 percent to 42.6 percent) and with "the U.S.-Soviet military balance" (from 36.5 percent to 41.0 percent).

SDF Recruitment Advertisement

Question 25: Have you seen the advertisement or heard about the recruitment of the SDF members?

た見 こた			Key:	
にという (3) (13.9 15.9 15.7 15.0 13.0 18.4 10.0	たことがある(2) 86.1 起 大 区 市 の 市 市 83.8 東 市 の 市 市 85.0 そ 人 人 一 町 81.6 ト 町 90.0 町 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	(5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11)	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.	Response Have seen or heard Have neither seen nor heard Total 11 major cities Tokyo metropolis districts 10 major cities Other cities Cities with more than 100,000 population Cities under 100,000 population Towns and villages
	90.5 男 } 性 Sex 82.4 女	Male Female }		
				•

To Those Who Have Seen or Heard

Supplementary Question. In what media? (multiple responses)

Newspaper 12.2
Television 11.2
Radio 0.9
Cable Broadcasting 0.2
Posters 80.7
Upright Sign Boards 27.7
Hanging Screens
Movies, slides 0.3
Pamphlets, Leaflets, Fliers 8.7
Prefecture, City, Town, Village Information Bulletin,
Bulletin Boards
Family members, Relatives, Friends 4.3
Officials of Municipal, Town,
Village Governments 2.0
Others 2.8
Don't know 0.6

Close Associates

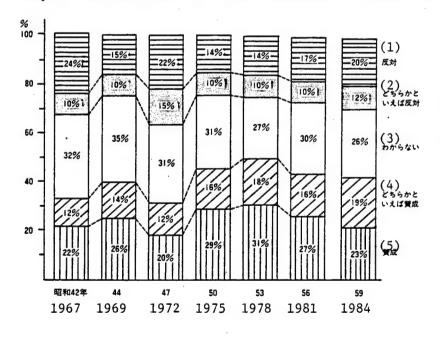
Question 26: In the future, if your close associates are interested in joining the SDF, will you approve or disapprove?

ゎ か 項 16.4 14.6 42.8 26.2 44年9月調査 September 1969 Survey 16.3 21.7 42.4 19.6 47年11月調查 November 1972 Survey 14.2 13.7 43.4 28.7 50年10月調查 October. 1975 Survey 9.9 13.8 45.3 30.9 53年12月調査 December 1975 Survey 11.5 16.7 44.5 27.2 56年12月調査 December 1981 Survey 9.2 19.7 48.3 22.7 59年11月調査 November 1984 Survey 6.5 14.5 50.0 29.0 男 性 Male 11.5 24.1 46.9 17.5 女 別 Female) 8.9 29.3 48.4 13.5 20 裁 代 20's 8.6 22.4 49.2 19.7 30 代 30's 葴 8.9 19.5 50.9 20.6 40 代 40's 9.6 17.1 48.2 25.2 50 歳 代 50's

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. Approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove (leave it to the individual concerned)
- 4. Disapprove
- Don't know

Graph: Pros and Cons for Close Associate's Joining the SDF



Key:

- 1. Oppose
- Oppose if choice is to be made
- 3. Don't know
- 4. Approve if choice is to be made
- 5. Approve

When asked whether they would approve or disapprove if their close associates were interested in joining the SDF, 22.7 percent said "approve," 48.3 said "neither approve nor disapprove (leave the decision to them)," and 19.7 percent said "disapprove." But, the respondents (1,171) who said that they would "neither support nor disapprove" and leave the decision to the persons concerned, when forced to decide, 18.8 percent of them said that they would "approve if they had to choose one," and 11.7 percent said they would "disapprove if they had to choose one."

By sex, more men (29.0 percent) than women (17.5 percent) approved, and by age, the older, the higher the approval rate.

Reasons for Approval (Those who Approve)

Supplementary Question 1: What is the reason? Pick one from the following: (Surveyed 1,006 persons who responded that they "approve" or "approve if they are to choose")

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                      らで身
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                 (8)
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                                                 800 47年11月調查 November 1972 Survey
                                     19.6
 3.3 2.1 6.4 1.1
                  1.0
                            1.9 28.3 20.9
                       6.9
                                          28.1 1,076 50年10月調査 October 1975 Survey
     0.7 4.8
             0.8
                       6.3
                            2.8 27.7 21.6
                  1.1
                                          30.5
                                               1,207 53年12月調查 December 1978 Survey
     0.6 5.1 0.9
                  0.9
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                                          36.4 1,028 56年12月調查 December 1981 Survey
 1.2 2.5 4.8
             0.4
                  0.9
                       5.8
                            2.1 24.4 20.6 37.9
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                                          29.6
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                                                               20's
1.5 2.5 2.9 0.5
                  1.5
                       7.4
                            2.5 26.0
                                     24.0
                                          31.4
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                                                               30's
1.4 1.9 4.6
                  0.9
                       7.4
                            1.4 25.0
                                     24.5
                                          32.9
                                                 216 40
                                                            代
                                                               40's
1.3 2.2 2.6 0.4
                       4.4
                            3.1 27.9 19.7
                                          38.4
                                                 229 50
                                                        歳
                                                            代.
                                                               50's
1.1 2.5 6.5 0.4
                  1.4
                       2.2
                            1.1 21.4 14.9 48.6
                                                276 60 歳以上
                                                               Over 60
```

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. Number of persons surveyed
- Because I would be proud to defend Japan's peace and independence
- Because it is one of the fine occupations
- 5. Because group life will produce a solid personality
- 6. Because wages and treatment are good
- 7. Because it will be advantageous to me in the future as a result of acquiring various technical skills
- Because there is no other suitable job
- 9. Because of relatives
- 10. Because there will be a problem without the SDF
- 11. Others
- 12. Don't know

The main reasons cited by the 1,006 persons who "approve" or "approve if they are to choose" were as follows: 37.9 percent of them cited that it was "because they would be proud to defend Japan's peace and independence," 24.4 percent cited "because they become solid human beings by experiencing a group life," and 20.6 percent cited "because it is one of the fine professions."

Reasons for Disapproval (Those who Oppose)

Supplementary Question 2. What is the reason? Pick one from the following: (Surveyed 762 respondents who said they "disapprove" or "disapprove if they are to choose")

わからない他	他に適当な職がある自衛隊の必要性を認めないから	ら で 適 応 力 が は さ に に に に に に に に に に に に に	体生活はきらいたから気まずいいないないない。	数 当 者 数 (人) 数 当 者 数 (人)	
2.8 4.3 2.6 2.5 2.5 2.9 1.1 2.9 3.3 2.9 0.7 3.6 3.1 3.6 2.7 2.7	(10) (9) (8) 17.3 15.7 12.4 18.6 19.0 10.9 11.4 19.5 10.3 14.0 15.1 8.7 11.5 14.8 10.8 18.4 11.0 12.5 7.8 16.5 9.8 13.6 25.7 12.9 11.5 15.1 12.0 10.8 14.6 11.9 12.6 8.9 8.1	11.7 1.2 1.	7 3.6 2 9 2.8 3 4 1.9 4 7 2.0 4 4 2.9 3 8 1.4 5 4 — 3 - 3.6 4 1 2.2 4	3) (2) (1) 929 47年11月調查 25.7 580 50年10月調查 37.8 580 53年12月調查 15.1 643 56年12月調查 16.5 762 59年11月調查 19.0 272 男 性 50.6 490 女 別 11.4 140 20 蒙一代 10.6 192 30 蒙 代 135 50 蒙 代	November 1972 Survey October 1975 Survey December 1978 Survey December 1981 Survey November 1984 Survey Male 2 S Female 2 X 20's 30's A 40's S 50's

Key:

- 1. Response
- 2. Number of persons surveyed
- 3. Because it is a dangerous job if war breaks out
- Because it is somehow an awkward occupation for relatives or acquaintances
- 5. Because of dislike of group life
- 6. Because the pay and treatment are not satisfactory
- Because of lacking adaptability as a result of isolation from the general society
- Because there are other more suitable jobs
- Because the real condition of the SDF is unknown
- Because the need for the SDF is not recognized
- 11. Others
- 12. Don't know

The reasons cited by those (762) who said that they "disapprove" or "disapprove if they are to choose," were as follows: 46.5 percent said that "because it is a dangerous job if war breaks out," 14.6 percent said that "because they don't know too much about the real condition of the SDF," 11.5 percent said that "because they do not see the need for the SDF," and 10.8 percent said that "because there are other more appropriate jobs."

Material 1: Method of Public Opinion Survey

There are various methods of conducting public opinion surveys, but the most common way is to pick the subjects of survey randomly and to conduct face to face interviews. It is regarded as a scientific method.

Random Sampling Method

When the subject of a survey is selected, subjective judgments or intentions of any kind should not enter into the decision and the choosing of the sample on a probability basis. In practice, picking first of all, city, town, village, or the survey district (survey spot) of the national census randomly, and then from the resident registry or electors' list, individuals are picked. This is a widely adopted method. In this case, the procedure of picking becomes two or more stages, and therefore, this is called the "two-stage (multiple) sampling." Also, when the area of survey is chosen, to minimize the error, the areas are divided into groups which share common characteristics, and from these, sampling is often done. Grouping in this way is called "stratification."

Table: Errors in the Opinion Poll

(1)	•				
サン 結果の%	3)10% (又は90%)	(430% (又は80%)	(539% ((又は70%)	6)40% (又は60%)	50%
20,000	± 0.4%	± 0.6%	± 0.7%	± 0.7%	± 0.7%
10,000	± 0.6	± 0.8	± 0.9	± 1.0	± 1.0
5,000	± 0.9	± 1.1	± 1.3	± 1.4	± 1.4
3,000	± 1.1	± 1.5	± 1.7	± 1.8	± 1.8
1,000	± 1.9	± 2.5	± 2.9	± 3.1	± 3.2
500	± 2.7	± 3.6	± 4.1	± 4.4	± 4.5
100	± 6.0	± 8.0	± 9.2	± 9.8	±10.0

なお、ふつう二段(多段)抽出の場合は、誤差が若干増加し、層化をすれば、誤差は減少する。(7)

Key:

- 1. Percentage of the result
- 2. Number of samples
- 3. or (90%)
- 4. or (80%)
- 5. or (70%)
- 6. or (60%)
- 7. In the case of two-stage (multiple) sampling, the error will somewhat increase, and if stratified, the error will decrease

Material 2: Composition of the Subject of the Survey

1. Sex

Male	45	.3 %	
Female	54	.7 %	

2. Age (How old are you?)

20-24 5.2 %	50-5411.1
25–29 7.3	55-59 9.2
30-3410.7	60-64 8.1
35-3912.3	
40-4411.4	Above 70 7.8
15 10	

3. pre		eation. What is the school you last graduated from? (Drop-out and by attending are regarded as graduation.)
	E16	ementary School
	016	Higher Elementary School/New Middle School30.2
		Middle School/New High School48.8
	016	Higher School/New College/University14.0
	Uni	dentified 2.8
4.	0ccu	pation. What is your occupation?
	(1)	Self-employed
		Agriculture, forestry, fishery 5.6 %
		Commerce, industry, service
		Miscellaneous business
	(2)	Employed
		Managerial 1.5 %
		Specialized technical
		Clerical
		Labor
	(3)	Family Business
		Agriculture, forestry, fishery 4.5 %
		Commerce, industry, service 4.5
		Profession 0.2
	(4)	Unemployed
		Unemployed Housewife
	-	Student 1.6
		Otherwise unemployed10.4
	(5)	Newspaper Reading. Do you read political section of the newspaper? Which of the following?
		Read everyday23.6 %
		Try to read as much as possible22.0
		Occasionally read only interesting articles33.2
		Rarely read14.3
		Don't read at all
		Not sure 0.7

Material 3: Change in public opinion surveys on the SDF and the question of defense (opinion poll taken by the Information Office of the Prime Minister's Secretariat)

Of the various kinds of opinion polls taken by the Information Office of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the change in the opinion poll on the main items on the SDF and the question of defense is listed. To this, the results of the consciousness survey conducted by the Defense Agency in September 1977 are added for reference.

Title of Opinion Poll	Date	No of Subjects
Reminiscence of the Postwar		•
10 years and Prospect	August 1955	3,000
Opinion Poll on the Defense Question	January 1956	3,000
Opinion Poll on Constitution	October 1956	20,000
Same .	August 1957	20,000
Same	August 1958	20,000
Same	August 1959	20,000
Opinion Poll of Defense Consciousness	October 1959	3,000
Opinion Poll on the Constitution	September 1960	20,000
Opinion Poll on the Constitution	August 1961	20,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	October 1961	3,000
Opinion Poll on the Constitution	August 1962	20,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	June 1963 `	3,000
Survey on Public Information on the SDF and the Defense Question	November 1965	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	August 1967	3,000
People's Consciousness towards the Country	October 1968	3,000
Opinion Poll on Current Affairs	May 1969	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF	September 1969	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	November 1972	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	October 1975	3,000
Consciousness Survey on the analysis of the object of Public Information (Defense Agency Survey)	Sontonbor 1077	
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense	September 1977	3,000
Question	December 1978	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense Question	December 1981	3,000
Opinion Poll on the SDF and the Defense		3,000
Question	November 1984	3,000
12,474/8918 CSO: 4105/011 44		

ECONOMIC .

CAUSES OF SURPLUS IN TRADE WITH U.S. EXAMINED

Tokyo THIS IS in Japanese Sep 85 pp 48-53

[Article by Seiji Shinpo, counselor in the Director's Secretariat, Economic Planning Agency: "One Cause of Trade Conflict Is U.S. Overinvestment"]

[Excerpts] In recent years the black ink in Japan's current income and expenditure, especially in trade profits, has increased greatly and has become an important backdrop in intensifying trade friction. The trade surplus swelled from \$18.1 billion in 1982 to \$44.4 billion in 1984. On the U.S. side, on the other hand, the negative balance of trade has increased markedly. Opinions are divided on the question of whether the great increase in Japan's profits comes from a main cause on the American side (overinvestment), or from the primary cause on the Japanese side (excessive savings).

Prof Nakatani Iwao of Osaka University who views Japan's "excessive savings" rather seriously, says: "Deficit financing and the accumulation of profits in current income and expenditure should be seen as an inevitable result brought about by excessive savings in the Japanese economy."

Based on this kind of recognition, he has put forward the criticism (in the 17 May issue of the TOYO KEIZAI Modern Economics series of articles) that for some years our policy, rather than correcting the problem, (excessive savings) has been rather to use a method to treat the symptoms (the market liberalization policy) in order to deal with the result of the inequality (current profits).

Professor Nakatani takes a serious view of the differences in the tax systems of the United States and Japan. In the July issue of this journal in an article entitled "United States-Japan Economic Frictions Can be Settled." he compared the tax structures of the United States and Japan, and indicated that in the United States there is a structure that gives "favorable treatment to investments and unfavorable treatment to savings, whereas in Japan there is favorable treatment to savings and unfavorable treatment for investment." He says that this first of all fixes the trend of excessive investment occuring in the United States (insufficient savings) and the trend of excessive savings occuring in Japan. Second, he asserts that this situation has brought about high interest rates in the United States and relatively low interest rates in Japan.

He is of the opinion that due to this structural difference in taxation, surplus savings seeking high interest, starting with a large outflow to the United States from Japan, fixes the dollar high and yen low, and that Japan's current profits are increased.

Such assertions by Professor Nakatani provide strong support to his assertion of the importance of the influence of the tax system, but when one looks coolly at the reality of the working of the economies of both Japan and the United States, one realizes that there are a number of points that do not fit into the case made by Professor Nakatani.

In the first place, Professor Nakatani views Japan's "excessive savings" as an important cause of the expansion of current profits, and sees the favorable treatment of savings and unfavorable treatment of investments as a problem, but the increase in the corporate tax rate and the introduction of the Maru-yu system [of tax-free interest on small savers' accounts] began earlier, and thus for recent years (1982-1984) it is not reasonable to try to see them as the cause of the breadth of the expansion of profits.

In the second place, what changed greatly on entering the 1980's was mainly factors on the U.S. side. In the American economy under the Reagan administration, an extreme trend toward "overinvestment" was brought about by deficit financing and a reduction in tax on investments.

To start with, the expansion of deficit financing largely forced down the savings rate in the American economy. Professor Feldstein has indicated the following. From 1950 to 1979, on average, pure savings for household budgets, industry, and local government came to 7.6 percent of GNP. During that time, since the size of the federal deficit was less than 1 percent of GNP, the real national savings rate was 6.9 percent.

In contrast, since 1980, the household, industrial, and local government combined savings rate has been 6.8 percent of GNP, somewhat lower than the earlier rate; but more than that, because the federal deficit increased widely to 3.6 percent of GNP in 1982 and 6.1 percent of GNP in 1983, the real hational savings rate for 1982 and the first three quarters of 1983 dropped to a mere 1.5 percent.

Next, since the accelerated depreciation system introduced in 1981 and the expansion of tax deductions led to increased investments in plant and equipment, the trend toward "overinvestment" in the United States was intensified and the upward trend in real interest rates was strengthened.

Accordingly, the trend toward "overinvestment" (savings insufficiency) in the United States, while influenced somewhat by the investment tax system as indicated by Professor Nakatani, was greatly influenced by the expansion of deficit financing.

It is clear that there are problems with a tax system which gives "unfavorable treatment to savings," but since this kind of tax system has been in place for some time, it is difficult to view it as the direct cause of the trend

toward "overinvestment" which intensified on entering the 1980's.

A more direct cause, which aggravated the savings insufficiency, was rather the expansion of the deficit, as indicated by Professor Feldstein.

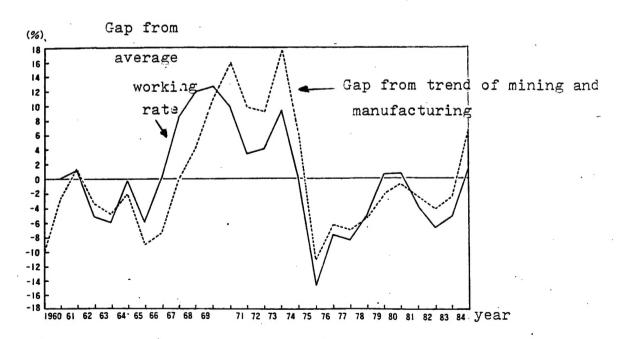
A Policy Increasing General Demand Invites Inflation

In Japan at present, voices are gradually being raised, mainly by the media, opposition parties, and by one segment of the ruling party, calling for an expansion of domestic consumption. It is too delicate to say at this point whether this will come to possess the vitality of the chorus which sought a general increase in demand back in 1972. The conditions that are similar to those of 1972 are the continuation of large profits in current accounts and an increase in foreign trade frictions. However, the assertion made in 1972 was that "We should increase general demand in order to shrink the gap between supply and demand," whereas the recent plea has been that "we should expand domestic demand in order to shrink the gap between savings and investment," so the character of these appeals is slightly different.

To put it another way, back in 1972 it was a policy proposal for the management of short-term general demand, but the current "expansion of domestic consumption argument" is a proposal related to structional policy seen from a medium- or long-term point of view. That is to say, it is a call for gradually changing the economic structure, for slightly decreasing the rate of savings and for slightly increasing the rate of investment.

In order to stimulate this kind of change in economic structure it is necessary to create a climate wherein it is profitable to invest and unprofitable to save. Accordingly, this kind of policy differs fundamentally from a simple demand expansion policy, and as Professor Nakatani asserts, it must be a policy to change relative value. It is a policy influenced by supply side economics.

Figure 3 Production Activity Exceeding Average Operational Levels



However, it is argued that the thesis for expanding domestic demand is being confused with the former general demand expansion argument. Together with the words "expansion of domestic demand," the terms "balanced expansion" and "realization of potential growth" frequently appear. That is because these terms are dragging the tail of the former supply-and-demand-gap theory.

However, the Japanese economy at the present time is viewed as being roughly at a normal standard for economic activity (natural, real GNP)—that is at a balanced level of GNP where there is neither acceleration nor deceleration of inflation.

Figure 3 shows the gap from the past average values in the working rate in the manufacturing industries (average from 1960 to 1982) and the gap from the trend in mining and manufacturing; the values for 1984 levels exceed average values, though only slightly. Accordingly, because we can see that there is no longer a deflation gap at present, a policy promoting the expansion of general domestic demand is unnecessary. On the contrary, if such a policy were employed, we would repeat the same mistake as in 1972, and there is strong concern that we would force up the inflation rate.

What is an especially dangerous concept concerns a policy that would try to pull up the nominal growth rate to over 8 percent from its present 6 percent range, which is being advocated by one part of the team. Such policy, in the end, would not be tied to the real growth rate, but would only increase the rate of inflation. In that sense it is nothing more than a type of regulated inflation theory.

The Basis of an Antifriction Policy Is Open Markets and Regulatory Relief

The correct policy for Japan to adopt in order to combat trade friction is to develop a real open market policy. As we saw earlier, because American "overinvestment," and the high dollar and low yen which accompany it, are the causes of the widening of Japanese profits in recent years, as long as this situation remains unchanged, it is perhaps difficult to shrink Japan's profits to any great extent. Professor Nakatani has criticized an open market policy as one which treats the symptons, but the aim of an open market policy is not simply to reduce the size of Japanese profits. The cause of Japan-U.S. trade friction lies in the fact that Japanese markets are open to an insufficient degree, and in the point that the United States views this as unfair. Professor Feldstein has said: "The present Japan-U.S. trade friction revolves around an overall imblance" (in the ECONOMISUTO issue of 21 May).

It is arguable, perhaps, seen from the perspective of the low level of customs duties and the number of items on which there are import restrictions, that among the important nations the degree to which Japan's markets are open is not especially low, but in agricultural products, together with France, the number of items which are restricted is rather high, as always.

Furthermore, like the gasoline imports question, there are also doubts concerning the likelihood that there is a gap between the system and its actual operation. Moreover, there are also rigorous consumer regulations, and all of the

various rules for many types of safety and the inspection system are seen by various foreign nations as over strict. The distribution system is even more complicated, and the majority of small stores are protected by this device which limits competition. Furthermore, it appears there is also a special aspect to Japanese-style business practice.

All of these comprise the so-called special Japanese characteristics and they possess their own logic, and although they probably cannot be changed in a day, arguing here for the special character of Japan will not resolve the issue. Because the free trade system is indispensable to Japan, it is now trying to play the role of the driving force for free trade, and it is being demanded that Japan display impartial free trade rules and demonstrate that it will follow them itself.

That makes internationalization complete, and to a degree changes one's own special character. Internationalization blends characteristics into a more universal form. This requires a long period of time, perhaps, but it is a path which we cannot circumvent. This kind of open market policy is not something that can be repalced by a policy of expanding domestic demand.

Excessive Saving Cannot Be Called Unhealthy

At the same time, a policy promoting expansion of domestic demand is also important, since employing a policy that will lead to a higher rate of domestic investment will reduce Japan's profits, and that will probably be useful in reducing trade friction. To do this we must resolutely cast aside all kinds of government regulations, and it is necessary to create new enterprise opportunities. In order to stimulate investment in housing and investment in plant and equipment, the practical use of the tax system should probably be studied. This differs qualitatively from the general expansion of domestic demand which dragged the tail of the supply-and-demand-gap argument.

However, for the maintenance of the basis of price stability, it is necessary at the same time to take steps to see that policy does not lead to an increase in the expansion of nominal demand. What is important from that perspective is maintenance of a money supply growth rate which does not exceed the 7 percent range.

On the other hand, we should be cautious in taking actions that would be related to lowering the savings rate. As Professor Nakatani indicated, since the present world economy as a whole is in a state in which there is insufficient savings, if Japan's savings rate were lowered, there would be a serious possibility that real interest rates would rise.

Furthermore, if we consider the development of the overall world economy, which also includes the developing countries, then we cannot necessarily say that "excessive savings" in the Japanese economy is unhealthy. Because the development of the world economy does not progress uniformly, on the one hand there are many nations which are blessed with ample investment opportunities, but which are troubled by insufficient availability of capital. On the other hand, there are nations whose economies have matured and which do not have as many

investment opportunities, but which possess plenty of investment capital. In such a case, capital flows from the latter, where the rate of return is relatively low, to the former where the rate of return is higher, and this is desirable for the harmonious development of the world economy.

This fact is fundamentally the same as borrowing and lending between individuals. Depending on the stage of life, there are households which need large amounts of capital for education or home-buying and the like and which invest their capital in excess of the amount of savings they possess. On the other hand, there are those households which have passed that stage of life and which no longer need to invest so much, and those households have fairly ample surplus savings. In such a case, through the agency of a financial institution, the capital of the latter is loaned to the former.

If we use the premise that the Japanese economy is approaching this stage of life, then the mechanism by which capital flows to developing nations, where investment opportunities are ample and the return on investment is high, should begin to work. When that mechanism works, extreme current profits are produced on the amount of capital outflow, but it is inappropriate to call this type of profit "unfair."

12964/13045 CSO: 4106/3

END